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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 C-01 DODE-00 EUR-01 HA-09  
H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00  
OMB-01 PA-01 PM-01 PRS-01 P-01 RP-10 SNP-01  
SP-01 SS-01 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 /037W  
-----477EB1 081616Z /38

O 081425Z JUL 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1135  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 02790

FOR AMBASSADOR DEJARNETTE FROM AMBASSADOR FLATEN

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: GOR-RPF PEACE TALKS  
REF: KIGALI 2270

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. I AM DELIGHTED THAT YOU WILL BE LEADING OUR TEAM OF OBSERVERS FOR THE RWANDAN-RPF TALKS THIS WEEK. I AM REPEATING TO YOU A CABLE I SENT TO JEFF DAVIDOW  
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BEFORE THE FIRST SESSION OF THESE TALKS WHICH HE OBSERVED SINCE THERE WAS NO PARTICULAR REASON AT THAT POINT FOR YOU TO KEEP IT IN YOUR FILES. IN THIS MESSAGE I WANT TO UPDATE SOME OF MY OBSERVATIONS ON RWANDAN NEGOTIATIONS. I HAVE SHARED MOST OF THESE THOUGHTS IN SOME DETAIL WITH JOHN BYERLY WHO WILL BE ON YOUR TEAM FOLLOWING A VERY USEFUL VISIT HERE.

DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW  
AUTHORITY: ROBERT R. STRAND

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3. THE RPF ATTACK ON BYUMBA TOWN ON JUNE 5, THE DAY WHEN NEGOTIATIONS WERE SUPPOSED TO START FOR PEACE IN PARIS, HAS HAD A PROFOUND EFFECT ON RWANDAN POLITICS. FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE INVASION IN OCTOBER 1990, RWANDANS HAVE HAD TO FACE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE RPF MIGHT ACTUALLY WIN MILITARILY. IT TOOK A WHILE TO SINK IN, BUT WITHIN A COUPLE OF WEEKS, THE OPPOSITION PARTIES, WHICH HAD SIGNED THE COMMUNIQUE WITH THE RPF IN BRUSSELS ON JUNE 3, BEGAN TO REALIZE THAT IF THE RPF SHOULD GAIN A MILITARY VICTORY, THE PARTIES WOULD BE IN A MUCH WEAKER POSITION THAN THEY ARE EVEN NOW, AS THE RPF WOULD DICTATE TO THEM WHAT THEIR POLITICAL ROLE WOULD BE, WHEREAS NOW THEY ARE IN A NEGOTIATING POSTURE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA. THE RESULT WAS AN EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY RESULTING FROM A CABINET MEETING IN MID-JUNE. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A NEAR SENSE OF EUPHORIA AMONG HABYARIMANA SUPPORTERS THAT FINALLY THE GOVERNMENT SEEMED TO BE COMING TOGETHER AND THEREFORE DEMOCRACY MAY WORK.

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4. MORE RECENTLY, LEADERS FROM ALL SIDES HAVE BEGUN TO REALIZE THE MORE TERRIFYING IMPLICATIONS OF AN RPF MARCH TO KIGALI. NO MATTER HOW MANY HUTUS THE RPF MAY HAVE REPRESENTING IT, IT IS PERCEIVED IN RWANDA AS ESSENTIALLY A TUTSI ORGANIZATION. SHOULD THIS GROUP BREAK THROUGH TO KIGALI, ALL THE FEARS OF THE HUTU MAJORITY OF AGAIN BEING SUBJECTED TO SLAVERY OR FEUDAL VASSALAGE, WILL BE RESURFACED. WHEN THREATENED WITH THE RESTORATION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, THE HUTUS ON THE COLLINES WILL BEGIN TO ELIMINATE THEIR TUTSI NEIGHBORS. WHEN THIS HAPPENED IN OCTOBER 1990 IN KIBILIRA, HABYARIMANA SENT AN ARMY UNIT IN TO STOP IT. WHEN IT HAPPENED IN BUGASERA IN MARCH 1992, THE GENDARMES EVENTUALLY ARRIVED TO ENCOURAGE THE RESTORATION OF CALM. THIS WAS DONE WITH AN ADMINISTRATION AND COMMUNICATIONS IN PLACE, NEITHER OF WHICH WOULD BE THE CASE SHOULD KIGALI FALL TO THE RPF.

5. THIS WORST CASE SCENARIO HAS SUDDENLY BECOME THE DOMINANT FEAR OF RWANDANS. IT IS ACCOMPANIED BY A

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CONVICTION THAT KAGAME, KANYARENGWE AND OTHERS IN THE  
RPF DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF THE CATASTROPHE  
WHICH WOULD BE CREATED BY A CONTINUING ADVANCE.

THE RPF IN RWANDA

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6. IN REFTEL I REPORTED THE RELUCTANCE OF THE  
PRESIDENT TO ACCEPT THE FACT OF RPF PRESENCE ON  
RWANDAN TERRITORY. AS REPORTED IN SEPTTEL I BELIEVE  
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THIS IS NOW SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGED. THIS IS ANOTHER  
RESULT OF THE BYUMBA ATTACK IN WHICH THE RPF TOOK AND  
HELD SUBSTANTIAL HUNKS OF TERRITORY, A FACT WHICH IS  
HARD TO DENY.

7. THE LOGIC OF THE ARGUMENT WHICH APPARENTLY WAS  
USED WITH THE PRESIDENT WAS NOT ONLY THE REALITY OF  
RPF PRESENCE, BUT ALSO THE EXPECTATION THAT IN DUE  
COURSE THE RPF WILL BE REINTEGRATED INTO RWANDAN  
SOCIETY. THUS, " WE ARE ALL RWANDANS, WE SHARE THE

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SAME SOCIETY, AND WE CAN SHARE THE SAME LAND."

CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENTS  
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8. JOHN BYERLY TALKED WITH THE NEGOTIATING TEAM HERE  
ABOUT A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT IDEAS FOR DEMILITARIZED  
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ZONES AND OBSERVERS. ONE ISSUE THAT IS PREOCCUPYING  
RWANDANS RIGHT NOW IS THE NUMBER OF DISPLACED PERSONS  
ALONG THE BORDER. SINCE THE BYUMBA ATTACK THE

C  
SGYWQBOCGQURWANDANS FIND IT IS  
COSTING THEM MORE THAN A MILLION DOLLARS A MONTH JUST  
TO FEED THE DISPLACED, AND THE OTHER NEEDS FOR  
PERSONAL SECURITY ARE INDEED ENORMOUS. THE  
PRESIDENT'S CHEF DU CABINET IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT  
THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD FREEZE  
THE DISPLACED IN PLACE UNTIL THE FINAL PEACE  
AGREEMENT IS REACHED. I EXPECT THIS WILL BE A MAJOR  
PART OF THE DISCUSSION IF THEY GET ON TO THE POINT OF  
REAL NEGOTIATING.

THE NEXT ROUND  
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9. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA TOLD ME TUESDAY THAT  
HE HOPED TO HAVE ANOTHER ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS  
BEGINNING WITHIN TWO WEEKS AND RUNNING CONSIDERABLY

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LONGER THAN THE BRIEF ROUND IN ARUSHA. HE DOES NOT HAVE RPF AGREEMENT, NOR HAS THERE BEEN A SELECTION OF VENUE. IF THE ARUSHA VENUE SEEMS TO WORK WELL, I WOULD SEE NO REASON FOR THEM NOT TO RETURN. BUT AT SOME POINT IT WOULD SEEM TO ME USEFUL TO HAVE THE NEGOTIATIONS MOVED TO KIGALI, THE RWANDAN CAPITAL, BECAUSE AFTER ALL WE ARE TALKING ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT GROUPS OF RWANDANS. PERHAPS A COMPROMISE WOULD BE TO USE THE HOTEL IN AKAGERA PARK WHERE THERE WOULD BE PRECIOUS FEW DISTRACTIONS AND QUITE SIMPLE SECURITY. WE HAVE TALKED THIS OVER WITH

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COLLEAGUES HERE WHO BELIEVE IT A VERY USEFUL IDEA, BUT PERHAPS A LITTLE PREMATURE. SHOULD THERE BE A DISCUSSION OF VENUE FOR THE NEXT ROUND, YOU MIGHT TRY IT OUT WITH SOME OF THE PLAYERS.

#### THE FRENCH CONNECTION

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10. AS YOU HAVE SEEN FROM VARIOUS CABLES, THE FRENCH ARE AGAIN BEING FRENCH. THE FACT THAT YOU SPEAK THEIR LANGUAGE IS AN ENORMOUS PLUS. THE FRENCH ARE OUT IN FRONT BECAUSE THEY ARE THE ONLY ONES WILLING TO PAY THE PRICE OF TROOPS ON THE GROUND. WE CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THE FRENCH ARE IN THE LEAD, AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW. THIS WILL TAKE SOME FINESSE ON YOUR PART AS YOU LEAD THE LARGEST AND CERTAINLY THE MOST EXPERT OBSERVER DELEGATION. GOOD LUCK.  
FLATEN

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